

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01005 01 OF 02 022024Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 AID-05 AF-08 ARA-06
EA-07 NEA-10 CU-02 HEW-04 SS-15 SP-02 OIC-02
EB-08 L-03 H-01 NSC-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 /121 W
-----030428Z 038674 /41

R 021910Z APR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3051
INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION OECD PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1005

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EGEN, UN, ECOSOC, SHUM, SGEN, SOCI
SUBJECT: WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE UN DECADE FOR ACTION TO
COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

REF: STATE 070942

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES DETAILED DISCUSSION
ON STEPS TO BE TAKEN IF, IN FACT, THE ADMINISTRATION IS
TO REACTIVATE ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE WORLD CONFERENCE
ON RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION TO BE HELD IN 1978.
IN ESSENCE, WE NEED TO DETERMINE THE MINIMUM GENERAL ASSEM-
BLY ACTION NECESSARY TO ENABLE US TO SIDESTEP OR TO ANNUL
DE FACTO GA RESOLUTION 3379, WHICH LINKS RACISM AND ZIONISM.
THE MISSION IS OF THE VIEW THAT THIS COULD BEST BE ACCOM-
PLISHED BY A SHORT PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION, POSSIBLE RESPONDING
TO A U.S. OFFER TO HOST THE CONFERENCE.

2. FOR THIS STRATEGY TO SUCCEED, WE WOULD FIRST NEED TO
EMBARK QUICKLY UPON A SERIES OF HIGHLY SENSITIVE CONSULTATIONS
WITH AFRICAN AND OTHER INTERESTED DELEGATIONS. WE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01005 01 OF 02 022024Z

WOULD POINT OUT THE U.S. LEADERSHIP ROLE IN HUMAN RIGHTS
AND THE ANOMALY OF OUR NON-PARTICIPATION IN ONE OF ITS
PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS, THE DECADE ON RACISM, BECAUSE OF A
PERIPHERAL ISSUE INJECTED INTO IT. AT THE SAME
TIME, WE WOULD KEEP A LOW PROFILE AT THE SPRING ECOSOC. AT
SOME POINT, WE WOULD NEED TO DISCREETLY APPRISE LEADERS OF
CONGRESS, THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, AND OTHER CONCERNED GROUPS

OF OUR QUIET EFFORT TO UNTIE THE ARTIFICIAL LINK BETWEEN RACISM AND ZIONISM IN A RESOLUTION WHICH IS BOTH HONEST AND ACCEPTABLE IN THE UN, SO THAT WE MAY RETURN TO FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE.

3. WHILE IT IS NOT CERTAIN THAT WE CAN BE FULLY SUCCESSFUL IN ACHIEVING OUR OBJECTIVE, THIS IS A BATTLE WORTH FIGHTING. WHATEVER THE OUTCOME, WE WILL BE ON VERY SOLID HUMANITARIAN GROUND. THE REQUIREMENT THROUGHOUT IS THAT WE ACT WITH CAUTION AND NOT PUBLICIZE OUR INTENTIONS IN ADVANCE. END SUMMARY.

4. DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. IF WE WISH TO START THE PROCESS OF RETURNING TO PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE, WE WILL HAVE TO TAKE THE FIRST STEPS IN THE NEXT WEEKS. THE DECADE WILL BE ON THE AGENDA FOR THE SPRING ECOSOC BEGINNING APRIL 12. IT IS USUALLY A PRIORITY ITEM AND MOST LIKELY WILL BE DEALT WITH IN THE FIRST FEW WEEKS OF THE FIVE-WEEK SESSION.

5. PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF THE ECOSOC SESSION, WE SHOULD CONSULT WITH SOME KEY AFRICAN DELEGATES ABOUT MOVES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO PERMIT OUR RETURNING TO PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE. WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR TO THEM THAT WE DO NOT PLAN TO CHANGE OUR VOTING POSTURE AT THIS SESSION OF THE ECOSOC BUT THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO OUR FUTURE MOVES THAT THE TONE OF THE ECOSOC RESOLUTIONS BE ENCOURAGING. INITIAL CONSULTATIONS MIGHT BE WITH TWO INDIVIDUALS -- AMBASSADOR AKE OF THE IVORY COAST, WHO WAS PRESIDENT OF ECOSOC LAST YEAR, AND INSTRUMENTAL IN KEEPING THE ZIONISM ISSUE ON THE BACK BURNER; AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 01005 01 OF 02 022024Z

MINISTER-COUNSELLOR ANNAN CATO OF GHANA, WHO ALONG WITH AKE HAS BEEN A KEY FACTOR IN CONTROLLING ARAB INFLUENCE. AS GHANA WAS PREPARED TO HOST THE CONFERENCE, CATO WAS THE KEY NEGOTIATOR THROUGHOUT THE SPRING ECOSOC AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY; HE IS IN THE BEST POSITION TO KNOW ALL OF THE ARIOUS ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE CONFERENCE AND TO ASSESS WHAT KIND OF LANGUAGE IN A RESOLUTION WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL CONCERNED. BOTH AKE AND CATO ARE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TOWARDS THE U.S. BUT ALSO FRANK IN EXPRESSING DIFFERENCES OF VIEW. TALKS WITH THESE TWO SHOULD LEAD TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH KEY AFRICANS, CHOSEN IN CONSULTATION WITH CATO AND AKE. AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN OF NIGERIA SHOULD BE CONSULTED AT A RELATIVELY EARLY DATE.

6. GENERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH DELEGATES OF OTHER REGIONS SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT AT THE APRIL/MAY MEETING OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE APRIL MEETING OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. MANY OF THE DELEGATES ATTENDING THESE MEETINGS WILL ALSO BE PRESENT AT THE SPRING SESSION OF THE ECOSOC.

7. WE WILL HAVE A LARGE AMOUNT OF SUPPORT FROM OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN GROUP IN SEEKING WAYS TO BREAK THE LINK BETWEEN THE DECADE AND THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION. CANADA'S POSITION IS CLOSEST TO OURS, AND THE CANADIANS ARE ALSO LOOKING FOR A WAY OUT OF THE ZIONISM DILEMMA. THE CANADIANS TOOK A BOLD STEP AT THE LAST SESSION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND VOTED IN FAVOR OF AN UNPALATABLE RESOLUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA -- NOT BECAUSE THEY SUPPORTED THE SUBSTANCE OF THE RESOLUTION BUT IN ORDER TO SHOW THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID. THEY MAY BE PREPARED FOR A SIMILAR STEP ON THE DECADE. THE MISSION WILL CONSULT AT AN EARLY DATE WITH THEM AS WELL AS WITH THE UK AND THE FRG.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 01005 02 OF 02 022116Z
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 AID-05 AF-08 ARA-06
EA-07 NEA-10 CU-02 HEW-04 SS-15 SP-02 OIC-02
EB-08 L-03 H-01 NSC-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00
PA-01 USIA-06 PRS-01 /121 W
-----022126Z 038938 /62

R 021910Z APR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEWYORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3052
INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION OECD PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1005

8. PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE. IN VISUALIZING THE KIND OF LANGUAGE WHICH WILL MAKE A GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO US, WE SHOULD NOT THINK IN TERMS OF ANY DRAMATIC CHANGE FROM EXISTING RESOLUTIONS OR AN EXPLICIT DISAVOWAL OF RESOLUTION 3379. AT THE 1976 SPRING ECOSOC AND AT THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WE BEGAN TO EXPLORE LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD RETURN THE FOCUS OF THE DECADE TO ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSES. WE SUGGESTED TO SOME AFRICAN DELEGATES, INCLUDING CATO, THAT AN ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION WOULD HAVE TO USE RESOLUTION 3057, WHICH ESTABLISHED THE DECADE, AS THE POINT OF REFERENCE AND SHOULD NOT REFER TO ANY OF THE SUBSEQUENT RESOLUTIONS OF THE DECADE, SUCH AS 3379. EVEN UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, HOWEVER, THERE IS A PITFALL. IF ONE MAKES THE STRICTEST POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION OF PARAGRAPH 13

OF THE 3057 RESOLUTION, THAT THE CONFERENCE "SHOULD HAVE AS ITS MAIN THEME THE ADOPTION OF EFFECTIVE WAYS AND MEANS AND CONCRETE MEASURES FOR SECURIGNG THE FULL AND UNIVERSAL IMPLE-
MENTATION OF UN DECISIONS AND RESOLUTIONS ON RACISM, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, APARTHEID...," WE MAY NEVER GET OFF THE HOOK. THE FIRST DECISION REQUIRED, THEREFORE, BEFORE WE EVEN BEGIN AN EFFORT, IS WHETHER WE ARE WILLING TO DEFEND DOMESTICALLY A LESS STRICT READING OF THIS ORIGINAL RESOLUTION.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 01005 02 OF 02 022116Z

9. THEREAFTER, WE ARE FACED WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTIONS OF WHICH THERE ARE TWO EACH YEAR, ONE ON THE PROGRAM OF THE DECADE AND ONE ON THE 1978 WORLD CONFERENCE. ALTHOUGH THE RESOLUTION ON THE PROGRAM OF THE DECADE ADOPTED BY THE 31ST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 31/77, IN A SENCE MEETS OUR REQUIREMENT IN THAT IT REFERS ONLY TO RESOLUTION 3057 AND MAKES NO EXPLICIT MENTION OF THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION, IT CAN BE IMPLIED THAT THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES DISCUSSED IN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4 INCLUDE OPPOSITION TO ZIONISM. THE VOTE ON THIS RESOLUTION AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WAS 113-1-14. THE MISSION CONCLUDES THAT IT WOULD NOT BE REALISTIC TO EXPECT MUCH CHANGE IN THE RESOLUTION DEALING WITH THE PROGRAM.

10. IF WE ARE TO RETURN TO PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE, WE WILL HAVE TO WORK WITH A SIMILARLY AMBIGUOUS RESOLUTION, ONE THAT WILL HOWEVER PERMIT US TO DECLARE CREDIBLY THAT THE RESOLUTION HAS SUCCESSFULLY ACHIEVED A SEPARATION OF THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE. THE MOST OPPORTUNE PLACE FOR THIS WILL BE IN THE SEPARATE RESOLUTION DEALING WITH THE CONFERENCE ITSELF, SINCE THIS RESOLUTION IS SHORTER AND SIMPLER. HERE, TOO, CARE IS NEEDED. AT THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THE RESOLUTION ON THE CONFERENCE, RESOLUTION 31/78, CONTAINED A PARAGRAPH CALLING FOR "FULL AND UNIVERSAL IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS DECISIONS AND RESOLUTIONS ON RACISM, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, APARTHEID, DECOLONIALIZATION, AND SELF-DETERMINATION." BECAUSE OF THIS PARAGRAPH, WHICH INCLUDES RESOLUTION 3379 BY DEFINITION, THE NUMBER OF NOS AND ABSTENTIONS WAS EVEN GREATER THAN THOSE ON RESOLUTION 31/77. WE WILL HAVE TO GAIN SUPPORT IN EFFORTS TO AVOID ANY SUCH "CONTAMINATING" LANGUAGE.

11. WE SHOULD STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RIGHT LANGUAGE IN THE CONFERENCE RESOLUTION IN OUR TALKS WITH AKE AND CATO AND SUGGEST THAT THE RESOLUTION COULD PERHAPS QUOTE FROM THE FIRST PART OF PARAGRAPH EIGHT OF RESOLUTION 3057, WHICH STATES "THE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 01005 02 OF 02 022116Z

ULTIMATE GOALS OF THE DECADE ARE TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS FOR ALL, WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF ANY KIND ON GROUNDS OF RACE, COLOUR, DESCENT OR NATIONAL OR ETHNIC ORIGIN..." THE PHRASE CONTINUES FURTHER BUT GETS INTO MORE CONTROVERSIAL LANGUAGE AFTER THAT.

12. IF WE CAN PROMOTE A MORE BALANCED RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE CONFERENCE ITSELF, WE WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO MAKE OUR OWN ANNOUNCEMENT OF A RETURN TO PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE AT THE 1977 GENERAL ASSEMBLY, POSSIBLE ANNOUNCING AT THAT TIME AN OFFER TO HOST THE CONFERENCE.

13. OUR PUBLIC POSTURE. THIS NEW APPROACH CLEARLY REQUIRES THAT WE BEGIN AT ONCE IN CHANGING OUR PUBLIC STANCE IN REGARD TO THE DECADE. OUR PREVIOUS POLICY HAS BEEN THAT OF "NON-PARTICIPATION;" WE HAVE CARRIED OUT THIS POSTURE BY MAKING A STRONG STATEMENT IN THE GENERAL DEBATE, IN ECOSOC, AND AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OF OUR REASONS FOR NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE DECADE AND ANNOUNCING EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER THE VOTE THAT WE HAD NOT PARTICIPATED. IN OTHER WORDS, WE HAVE MAINTAINED A HIGH PROFILE, WHILE NOT PARTICIPATING. IT FOLLOWS THEN THAT THE MOST LOGICAL FIRST STEP IN CHANGING COURSE WOULD BE TO IMMEDIATELY LOWER OUR PROFILE AND KEEP QUIET DURING THE GENERAL DEBATE AT THE SPRING ECOSOC. SHOULD THERE BE A ROLL-CALL VOTE ON THE RESOLUTIONS, WE WOULD SIMPLY STATE THAT WE ARE NOT PARTICIPATING WITHOUT ANY FURTHER EXPLANATION.

14. IF WE ARE SATISFIED WITH THE RESOLUTIONS WHICH EMERGE FROM THIS SESSION OF THE ECOSOC, WE WILL HAVE THE SUMMER MONTHS TO PREPARE FOR THE DOMESTIC REACTION, PARTICULARLY IN CONGRESS, TO AN ANNOUNCEMENT OF OUR RESUMPTION OF PARTICIPATION IN THE DECADE.

15. CONCLUSION. IF, AS IS PROBABLE, NO OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFERS TO HOST THE CONFERENCE, IT WILL BE HELD AT UN HEADQUARTERS IN EITHER GENEVA OR NEW YORK, MOST LIKELY THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 USUN N 01005 02 OF 02 022116Z

LATTER. IN THIS CASE, UNDER OUR PRESENT POSTURE, WE COULD FACE A VERY NEGATIVE OUTCOME, WITH OUR DELEGATION ABSENT BUT THE FULL LIGHT OF PUBLICITY ON THE EVENT. AGAINST THIS WORST CASE SITUATION, THE STRATEGY ABOVE IS WELL WORTH PUTTING TO THE TEST, WHATEVER ITS OUTCOME. IF WE SUCCEED, WE WILL HAVE REVERSED THE PARTICULARLY UNFORTUNATE TURN OF EVENTS SET IN MOTION BY RESOLUTION 3379. IN ANY CASE, WE WILL HAVE CLEARLY SHOWN THAT CONCERN ABOUT RACISM IS VERY MUCH A PART OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORT. WHAT IS ESSENTIAL IS THAT WE DECIDE ON A COURSE OF ACTION, AND PURSUE IT

CAUTIOUSLY AND WITHOUT ADVANCE PUBLICITY.
YOUNG

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, INSTRUCTIONS, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 02-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977USUNN01005
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770115-1130
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770494/aaaaddtd.tel
Line Count: 280
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: dd5001ab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 STATE 70942
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2915288
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE UN DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
TAGS: EGEN, SHUM, SGEN, SOCI, UN, ECOSOC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/dd5001ab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009